

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W
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O 142328Z APR 78 ZFF6
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABARONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 4039

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RH, PDV, UK
SUBJ: RHODESIA: SECOND OWEN/VANCE MEETING WITH PATRIOTIC
FRONT, EVENING APRIL 14

SUMMARY: AFTER DINNER, MEETING RESUMED BUT NO NEW GROUND
WAS BROKEN. OWEN RECAPITULATED AFTERNOON SESSION. AT
URGING OF NKOMO AND MUGABE, HE GAVE HIS REACTION TO PF POSITIONS
AS STATED IN EARLIER SESSION. HIS COMMENTS ON POLICE RAISED
PF IRE AND LARGELY INCONCLUSIVE BUT OCCASIONALLY BITTER
CONVERSATION ENSUED. AFTER APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR OF DIGGING
DEEPER INTO SAME FURROWS, OWEN SUGGESTED MEETING ADJOURN
UNTIL FOLLOWING MORNING. WE HAVE NO INDICATION WHETHER WE WILL
BE ABLE TO BREAK THE NEGOTIATING IMPASSE WITH THE PF. SECRETARY
PLANS TO MEET WITH FRONT LINE AND NIGERIAN REPRESENTATIVES
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AFTER THEY MEET WITH PF EARLY MORNING APRIL 15. HE WILL
IMPRESS UPON THEM NEED TO BRING FORTH PF ACCEPTANCE OF ESSENTIAL
ELEMENTS OF AAP, WHICH THEY PROMISED THEY COULD OBTAIN DURING
CONVERSATIONS IN LAGOS. END SUMMARY.

1. MEETING RESUMED AT 9:20 EVENING OF APRIL 14. OWEN BEGAN
BY RECAPITULATING PF POSITION ON GOVERNING COUNCIL (GC), ROLE OF

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER (RC), UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, AND POLICE. OWEN SAID THAT HE FELT THE PF POSITION HAD HARDENED SINCE MALTA, EXCEPT ON THE QUESTION OF THE UN FORCE, ON WHICH THEY WERE ESSENTIALLY MAINTAINING THEIR MALTA LINE. OWEN REVIEWED THE HISTORY OF WHY BRITAIN HAD INITIALLY PROPOSED A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND ASSERTED THAT IF THE RC WERE STRIPPED OF HIS POWERS IT WOULD CONSTITUTE A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE AAP. OWEN ASKED IF PF POSITIONS WERE NEGOTIABLE, NOTING THAT HE WAS SERIOUS IN THIS QUESTION BECAUSE THEIR PROPOSALS WOULD EVENTUALLY HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED AMONG THE PARTIES.

2. MUGABE RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT OWEN'S RECAPITULATION HAD BEEN GENERALLY CORRECT, EXCEPT THAT HE HAD FAILED TO MENTION THAT THE PF STILL HOLDS TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE SMITH FORCES MUST BE DISMANTLED AND THEIR PLACES TAKEN BY THE PF, ABSORBING ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS. MUGABE CHARACTERIZED PF'S AFTERNOON STATEMENT AS "AMENDMENTS" TO THEIR PROPOSALS AT MALTA. THOSE PORTIONS NOT AMENDED REMAIN AS DETAILED IN JANUARY.

3. AFTER SOME INCONCLUSIVE SPARRING ON ISSUES OF JUDICIARY AND AMNESTY, MUGABE PRESSED OWEN FOR HIS REACTIONS ON PF'S "AMENDMENT." OWEN REPEATED HIS AFTERNOON POSITION THAT PF PROPOSALS OBIVATE NEED FOR AN RC. HE GENTLY SUGGESTED THE BEST THING TO DO IS TALK ABOUT WAYS OF GIVING LEGISLATIVE POWER TOO

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THE GC. BUT, HE NOTED, THE 8-3-1 COMPOSITION WOULD CERTAINLY BE UNACCEPTABLE TO OTHER PARTIES. HE REPEATED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE PUBLIC OPINION THAT A TWO TO ONE PF MAJORITY WOULD BE CONDUCIVE TO FAIR ELECTIONS.

4. SECRETARY VANCE AGREED WITH OWEN AND ARGUED THE VALUE OF A RC WHOSE NEUTRAL FUNCTION IS A NECESSARY ONE TO OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR RESULTS OF ELECTION. AMBASSADOR YOUNG RECOUNTED BREAKDOWN OF GENEVA OVER ISSUE OF ALLOCATION OF PORTFOLLOS. (NKOMO INTERJECTED THAT GENEVA BROKE DOWN IN SALISBURY BETWEEN BRITISH AND SMITH AND REPEATED OLD PF CHARGE THAT BRITISH HAD NEVER BOTHERED TO TELL THEM WHAT HAD HAPPENED.) YOUNG NOTED THAT RC WAS WAY OF OBTAINING RAPID DECISIONS DURING BRIEF SIX-MONTH PERIOD. "IF THERE IS ONE ENGLISHMAN YOU COULD TRUST, WE THOUGHT WE HAD FOUND HIM," YOUNG NOTED TO GENERAL AMUSEMENT. AMBASSADOR YOUNG WENT ON TO URGE THAT PF WAS NOT BEING ASKED TO PLACE TRUST IN ONE MAN WITH NO CHECKS ON HIS POWERS, BUT RATHER IN A PROCESS CLEARLY CIRCUMSCRIBED AND MONITORED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. HE URGED THE PARTIES TO STOP NITPICKING AND GET ON WITH THE TRANSITION WHICH WILL BE CONSTANTLY MONITORED BY THE FRONT LINE AND WORLD OPINION THROUGH THE UN.

5. MUGABE ARGUED THAT THE IDEA OF A RC AS A SELFLESS
CREATURE, MODEST, DEMOCRATIC HAD BEEN FIRST PROPOSED BY THE

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN DAR ES SALAAM
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INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
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PF BUT THEN TAKEN OVER BY SZHE UK WHICH PUMPED UP IDEA WITH ALL
KINDS OF ATTRIBUTES PF FINDS REPUGNANT.

6. OWEN RESPONDED THAT RC CONCEPT IS CONVENIENT ONE IN THAT IT IS A
DEVICE WHICH ALLOWS BRITISH TO GO BACK TO 1961 RHODESIAN CONSTI-
TUTION AND IMPLEMENT IT WITH AN ORDER-IN-COUNCIL RATHER THAN
SEEKING AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT. OWEN REPEATED THAT PF'S POSITION
LOGICALLY LED TO AN EXPLORATION OF THE GC AND ITS LEGAL STATUS.
HOWEVER, PROBLEMS OF DISTRIBUTING PORTFOLIOS IN A FULLY LEG-
ISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE GC WOULD REMAIN A MAJOR PROBLEM. HE
ASSERTED THAT PF'S "BIGGEST ELECTORAL BONUS" IS THAT THE OTHER
NATIONALISTS HAVE TIED THEMSELVES UP WITH SMITH (A POINT HE
BORROWED FROM NYERCJE).

7. MUGABE SAID THAT OBVIOUSLY WHAT UK-US REGARD AS FAIRNESS TO
OTHERS IS UNFAIR TO THE PF. SECRETARY VANCE NOTED THAT PF WOULD
SHARE POWER DURING TRANSITION UNDER AAP AND SPECIFICALLY MEN-
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TIONED CEASEFIRE MAINTENANCE COMMITTEE ON WHICH PF WOULD HAVE EXCLUSIVE NATIONALIST REPRESENTATION. MUGABE REJECTED COMMITTEE AS ADVISORY IN NATURE AND ASKED "WHY SHOULD WE BE ADVISORS WHEN WE CAN BE ADMINISTRATORS?"

8. MUGABE AND NKOMO ASKED OWEN FOR HIS COMMENTS ON THEIR SUGGESTION ABOUT THE POLICE FORCE. CONVERSATION, WHICH UNTIL THEN HAD BEEN RATHER DESULTORY, BECAME INCREASINGLY ANIMATED AND BITTER. OWEN RECOUNTED THAT DECISION TO MAINTAIN POLICE FORCE AS PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD HAD BEEN THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AGREEMENT TO BASE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY ON THE LIBERATION FORCES. HE RECOUNTED THAT IN RESPONSE TO PF CONCERNS ABOUT THE POLICE, THE US-UK HAD FIRST SAID THE RC WOULD APPOINT A NEW POLICE COMMISSIONER. LATER, AT MALTA, THE US-UK HAD PRESENTED THE PROPOSAL FOR A UN ROLE IN SUPERVISING THE POLICE SO THAT IF THE PF WERE DISSATISFIED, THEY COULD ULTIMATELY COMPLAIN TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL.

9. NKOMO SAID PF'S CONCERN ABOUT POLICE WAS NOT BASED ON FEAR OF INTIMIDATION, BUT RATHER ON PF'S CONCERN THAT IT HAVE A VISABLE PRESENCE AND ROLE DURING THE TRANSITION. REPEATING ARGUMENTS MADE IN THE AFTERNOON, NKOMO ASSERTED THAT OWEN WANTED THE PF TO BE SUBJECT TO SMITH'S PARAMILITARY POLICE FORCE. THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE AND WOULD GIVE IMPRESSION THAT THE PF FORCES HAD BEEN DEFEATED.

10. OWEN AND CARVER THEN ASKED A SERIES OF QUESTION ABOUT THE TRAINING OF THE PF POLICE FORCE AND THE LEGAL POWERS THEY WOULD EXERCISE DURING THE TRANSITION. INTENT OF QUESTIONS WAS TO INDICATE LEGAL DIFFICULTIES INHERENT IN BRINGING IN LARGE NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUALS UNSCHOOLED IN POLICE TECHNIQUES AND THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF LAW. PF'S INTERPRETATION OF QUESTIONING, HOWEVER, WAS THAT OWEN AND CARVER WERE IMPUNGING
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THE INTELLIGENCE AND CAPABILITY OF PF ADHERENTS TO PERFORM SIMPLE POLICE FUNCTIONS. IN DISCUSSING HOW MANY PF ADHERENTS WOULD BECOME POLICEMEN, OWEN AGAIN MENTIONED THE TWO TO ONE RATIO, WHICH NKOMO WAVED OFF SAYING "NEVER MIND THE RATIO." NOTING THAT SOME PF SOLDIERS WOULD NOT WANT TO ENTER POLICE OR ARMY, OWEN USED UNFORTUNATE PHRASE THAT SOME WOULD BE "REHABILITATED." MADZIMABUTO OF ZAPU REACTED STRONGLY TO OWEN'S CHOICE OF WORDS, BLURTING OUT THAT HE DID NOT FEEL THE NEED TO BE REHABILITATED. MOOD ON PF SIDE OF TABLE BECAME TENSER WHILE NKOMO REPEATED ONCE AGAIN SAME ARGUMENT THAT BRITISH WERE ASKING PF TO DISAPPEAR AND ALLOW SMITH'S POLICE FORCE COMPLETE RUN OF THE

COUNTRY.

11. OWEN SAID THAT THE PF IS NOW ASKING US TO ABASE THE ARMY, POLICE FORCE, AND GC ON THE PF. IN SUCH CONDITIONS NO ONE WOULD BELIEVE THAT FAIR ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD. MUGABE ASSERTED THAT UK-US LINK WAS ASKING THE PF TO ACCEPT PRECISELY THE OPPOSITE WITH SMITH AND HIS FORCES IN CONTROL, AND THAT BRITIAN WAS PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE SMITH REGIME IN THOSE CONDITIONS. OWEN REACTED SHARPLY, NOTING THAT NOT EVEN AMBASSADOR YOUNG HAD BEEN CRITICIZED AS MUCH BY SMITH. AT THAT POINT HE SUGGESTED THAT MEETING BE ADJOURNED UNTIL MORNING OF APRIL 15.

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12. COMMENT: WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED VERY HARD GOING IN THIS FIRST DAY OF TALKS, AND IT IS UNCLEAR HOW WE ARE GOING TO COME OUT. PRIVATELY MUGABE'S PEOPLE SAY THAT THEY HAD BEEN PREPARED TO COMPROMISE ON THE POSITIONS THEY PRESENTED. HOWEVER, BECAUSE BRITISH AND WE DID NOT UNEQUIVOCALLY STATE THAT ANY AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND THE PF HERE WOULD BE A "BINDING COMMITMENT," PF HAD DECIDED NOT TO GO TO THEIR BOTTOM LINE SINCE THEY WOULD NOT HAVE ANY ROOM TO MANEUVER IN ANY SUBSEQUENT ALL-PARTIES MEETING. MUGABE'S PEOPLE ALSO TOLD US THAT THEY CANNOT AGREE TO BLANKET MANESTY BECAUSE THIS WOULD BE A BETRAYAL OF THE BLACKS IN RHODESIA WHO HAVE BEEN TORTURED AND MAIMED BY

RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES.

13. WHETHER WE WILL SUCCEED IN ENDING CURRENT NEGOTIATING
IMPASSE SHOULD BECOME APPARENT TOMORROW. THE SECRETARY
REMINDS MKAPA, GARBA AND MWALE TONIGHT OF THE COMMITMENT
THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA MADE TO US IN LAGOS THAT THE PF WOULD
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DROP ITS OPPOSITION TO SOME ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE AAP. HE
ALSO TOLD MKAPA, WHO WILL REPORT TO NYERERE TONIGHT, THAT IF WE
GET NO SATISFACTION FROM THE FRONT LINE, HE AND OWEN WILL
WANT TO MEET WITH NYERERE. FRONT LINE WILL MEET FIRST THING
TOMORROW MORNING WITH PF, THEN WITH US BEFORE OUR TALKS WITH PF
RESUME. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THIS MEETING
TO BE BRIEF AND FOLLOWED BY SESSION INCLUDING ONLY VANCE, OWEN,
YOUNG, NKOMO AND MUGABE, AND MAY SUGGEST THIS TO THE PF TOMORROW.
VANCE

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Message Attributes

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